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AUTHOR Langton, Stuart
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ABSTRACT

The belief in citizen participation, along with the values of liberty and equality, have shaped the U.S. character and are reflected in the nation's institutions and behavior. This participation is manifested by electoral participation, citizen action, citizen involvement, obligatory participation, volunteer service, and mutual self-help. To take refuge in commitment to one form of participation to the exclusion of others is shortsighted citizenship behavior because it weakens the system as a whole and limits an individual's impact to one arena. While citizenship participation and education are inextricably bound, the nation must be clear about what sort of society it has in mind as a goal before it can decide on the processes and functions of that educational system. The ultimate goal of citizenship education should be to engender within as many people as possible a willingness to participate in public life in a manner that combines reasonableness, fairness, tolerance, and respect. The key to unlock the capacity of youth for citizen participation is to encourage practices of democratic indoctrination, dialogue, and discovery. Schools of the 21st century must promote numerous opportunities for students to participate in the governance of the school, and the school must be more intimately connected to the people and social life of the community. Sixteen references conclude the paper. (PPB)

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by Stuart Langton

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THE VALUE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Citizen participation is one of the most fundamental values of American society. The belief in citizen participation, along with the values of liberty and equality, have shaped the American character and are reflected in our institutions and behavior.(Downs,1988) The role that participation plays in this civic trinity of values is particularly important because it balances the tendencies toward excessive individualism and self interest that may result from our commitment to liberty and equality. This is one reason why we see a resurgence of interest in citizen participation today. At the same time, our belief in liberty and equality has created a tradition of citizen participation that is diverse, dynamic, and frequently robust. This is why citizen participation may mean different things to people and is not easy to define simply.

While the phrase citizen participation is recent, the concept is not. Historically, participation is a value of great social and political significance. The social value of participation is expressed in our traditions of philanthropy (volunteering and donations) and mutual self help that Toqueville described so well. The political value of

participation is reflected in our polyglot system of government which includes both direct and indirect practices of democracy.

The importance of citizen participation in America grows out of a belief in the capacity of people to govern themselves and a fear of tyranny. The concept used frequently in democratic theory to express this view is popular sovereignty. When John F. Kennedy said that "The sovereign power is in the hands of the people, and exercised by them directly or indirectly", he was expressing a belief that grew out of the Enlightenment^{en} and has had great influence upon our nation.

As a people, we have been and are ambivalent about the extent of popular sovereignty. There have always been advocates and skeptics of popular sovereignty and widespread citizen participation. While few would seriously reject the value or potential value of citizen participation, the underlying and recurrent question is how much and of what kind? It is significant and symbolic how the three seminal, separate, but related documents upon which our nation was established (our social contract if you will) reflect ambivalence about this issue. The Declaration of Independence, for example, offered a strong and revolutionary belief in popular sovereignty in proclaiming, "Whenever any form of government becomes self destructive...it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government." However, the Constitution of the United States created a moderate degree of popular sovereignty, concentrating rather upon a system of checks and balances as a safeguard against potential tyranny. Yet, the Bill of Rights was quickly (and

necessarily) added to guarantee rights that make possible a strong degree of citizen mobilization and action.

What these documents illustrate is the tension that has always existed in America as to the extent of popular sovereignty and the amount of citizen participation. America's history demonstrates that acts of citizen participation have served different purposes including revolution, preserving traditions, and improving the quality of life in society. Depending upon historical circumstance or political ideology, it is possible to advance notions of citizen participation to preserve the status quo, to support incremental improvement, or to achieve radical change.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF PARTICIPATION

The different purposes that citizen participation has served historically are reflected in the observable types of citizen participation that exist in the United States today. Elsewhere, four major types of citizen participation have been described according to different purposes, features, concerns, and examples of activities (Langton:1978) To summarize:

1. ELECTORIAL PARTICIPATION includes holding office, voting, and working to support candidates for office or a position on a referendum issue.

2. CITIZEN ACTION is grass-root efforts of citizen groups to influence public policy and performance or reform government.

3. CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT includes efforts by government to have citizens provide advice in matters of administrative policy and practice.

4. OBLIGATORY PARTICIPATION involves activities in which citizens are forced to take part under special circumstances such as jury duty or military service.

A broader socio-political interpretation of citizen participation adds the following types of activities to these political definitions:

5. VOLUNTEER SERVICE includes donating one's time, money, or other assets to help others, the community, or society as a whole.

6. MUTUAL SELF HELP consists of people working together to address a need or problem they share in common.

What is important in distinguishing between these types of citizen participation is to appreciate the social significance of each and the ecological balance between them. Electoral participation provides a stable system of representative leadership, and, in states and communities where referenda are used, of direct democracy. Citizen action is a means of stimulating change, generating new ideas, challenging the status quo, and forcing government to be more responsive in ways that are corrective or

revolutionary. Citizen involvement can increase public and government understanding of issues, strengthen consensus, achieve greater policy balance, and make government more effective. Obligatory participation assures that citizens will be mobilized in times of special need. Volunteer service and mutual self help assure that people will be responsible for themselves and each other beyond what government is able or willing to do.

What this system of multiple forms of participation does for our society is to maintain a balance between the need for continuity and change, obligation and choice, and public and private responsibilities in the public interest. Each of these types of participation is essential and the absence of any one would significantly alter our socio-political system.

This is not to say that there are not problems or shortcomings with each type of citizen participation. For example, electoral participation can be corrupted, citizen action can be unreasonable, citizen involvement can be manipulative, obligatory participation can be unfair to the poor, volunteer service can be of bad quality, and mutual self help can create dependency rather than empowerment. Because of the potential problems associated with each type of participation, it is understandable that some people reject some forms of participation and are only willing to engage in one or a few.

There is a danger to our system of citizen participation if critics of one type of participation fail to take action to improve it or engage in

only one type of participation. To take refuge in commitment to one form of participation to the exclusion of others is shortsighted citizenship behavior because it weakens the system of participation as a whole and makes the tasks of the singular form of participation in which a person engages even more difficult. This problem is evident, for example, in the behavior of many interest group advocates who fail to get involved in electoral politics and then despair over the policies of candidates who are elected.

If there is an ideal version of citizenship for our time, it includes understanding the nature and importance of the various types of citizen participation and a willingness to take part in all as the needs of society and one's community dictate. This is a high expectation for citizenship, but not an impossible one. It is an ideal that is possible to obtain, but not without a renewed commitment to citizenship education.

EDUCATION AND PARTICIPATION

Citizen participation and citizen education are inextricably bound. The variety, quality, and extent of citizen participation are dependent upon the educational experience of our people. It was Thomas Jefferson who most clearly understood the necessity and relation of each. For Jefferson, education was essential if people were to exercise sovereignty, participate

in self government, and to influence government so as to avoid tyranny. "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves," he wrote. "If we think they are not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

(Lee,1966:17) He also argued: "The qualifications of self government are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training."

(Lee,1966:19) In proposing a public school system for Virginia, Jefferson explicitly linked the need for mass participation and public education. "Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are the only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe." (Lee;1964:97)

The critical question for Jefferson, as it is for our time, is what kind of education is appropriate to prepare people to participate in society and government? The question calls for defining the content of education and the process of learning. Jefferson, and succeeding generations until the Progressive Era at the turn of this century, were exclusively concerned with the former and saw little connection between what students learned and how they learned. It was John Dewey, who more than anyone else, challenged this pedagogical shortcoming. Dewey oppos^ed

routinization in subject matter and passive roles for students in learning. He argued that the experience in learning was primary, and criticized American educational practices that, "forbids much active participation by pupils in the development of what is taught." (Dewey,1938:19) Dewey was uneasy and careful about simply or systematically defining the content or organization of education. His approach to educational reform went in quite a different direction. He believed that the starting point was not to define content, but rather identify the values and goals of our society. "The conception of education as a social process and function, "he argued in Democracy and Education, "has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind." (Dewey,1961:97)

In considering the relation between citizen participation and citizenship education, there is good logic and practical sense in Dewey's approach. Before prescribing the content or practices of citizenship education, we must be clear about the kind of society we have in mind and the role that citizenship education plays in that process.

'THE KIND OF SOCIETY WE HAVE IN MIND'

The commonly accepted vision of the kind of society we have in mind is not dissimilar from that of our founding fathers. We want to be assured of the blessings of liberty and equality. We want citizens to participate in public life and to accept responsibility for the welfare of themselves,

neighbors, community, and government. We want a just, prosperous, and secure society. We want to be free from the tyranny of government, or of any faction.

Today we know things that could not have been anticipated by those who created our nation. While they were very cognizant of the malfunctions of European societies, we have experienced shortcomings and critical problems in our socio-political system during a time that is fundamentally different from theirs. Therefore, our view of the kind of society we want to be is both similar and different from theirs. While the corpus of democratic aspiration remains, we recognize the pathologies of our system and the ways in which we do not want to be. For example, we know the dangers that can result from excessive bureaucracy, unregulated technology, manipulation by the mass media, and insufficient access to information. We also know that the dangers that concerned our nation's founders are enduring. In particular, the dangers of factionalism, excessive self interest, government corruption, and elitism, are as much a threat today as they were in the 18th century.

The American vision of the kind of society we want is a continuation of traditional aspiration coupled with a desire to overcome the pathologies of contemporary life. Beyond this, there is one other aspiration that is critical to our future. That aspiration is to create the capacity among our citizens to participate in an interdependent world order in which people's economic, social, and political destinies are inextricably bound.

What is distinctive in America's commitment to these traditional, corrective, and emergent values is that it presupposes a very active society. As Amitai Etzioni has observed, "an active society, one in which all major groups participate in public life, is a society whose values are more fully realized than less active ones. This is because many values are inherently dependent on an active society in that they either assume community-wide participation...or such participation is a prerequisite for their realization." (Etzioni, 1968:12) Therefore, citizen participation is both an end in itself as well as a means to achieve other ends.

COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATION: THE GOAL OF EDUCATION

Increasingly, it is clear that our government and society are as good as the capacity of citizens to participate in public life. In the future we will need more and better citizen participation. To achieve this will require more and better general and citizenship education. Beyond the basic reading, computational, and communication skills that are essential for individual opportunity in our technological and bureaucratic society, citizens will need to possess some basic attributes, skills, and knowledge to preserve liberty and improve the quality of life in our society.

What are the most critical capacities that citizens require to participate meaningfully in the future political and social life of our nation?

The historical responses to this question are significant but incomplete for our age. From the time of Jefferson until World War I, citizenship education was concerned primarily with the study of history and the inculcation of patriotic values. At the turn of the century, however, the scope of citizenship education was expanded considerably to include the study of government and society. Since 1892, the degree of interest in citizenship education has been substantial. For example, since then there have been over 36 national committees or commissions that have developed a surfeit of recommendations regarding the content and process of citizenship education. "The variations of details are infinite," observes Freeman Butts, "yet there is a sameness to the list of goals and objectives." (Butts, 1988:60,61)

The historical trap of citizenship education is that it has tried to accomodate every civic interest and ideal imagineable. "High ideals and vague priorities" is the way Franklin Patterson once put it. (Patterson, 1966) In an era in which we expect more from but acknowledge the limits of schools, the competition for attention among and within areas of study is intense and continuous. What we need, therefore, is a conception of citizenship education that is clear and well focused in terms of its essential meaning and ultimate outcome. Education for citizen participation provides such a focus.

The ultimate goal of citizenship education should be to engender within as many people as possible a willingness to participate in public life. It

makes little sense to concentrate on how able citizens are to participate unless and until they are willing. Therefore, it is the attitudes and norms that people develop regarding participation that is the beginning and end point of citizenship education. The essential thrust of citizenship education should be to assure that people understand and feel that they should, can, and will make a difference. Every approach should be subordinate to this sense of necessity, possibility, and commitment.

To accept this goal of citizenship education implies a philosophy of education that is tough-minded, aggressive and experiential. It is tough-minded in acknowledging that the questions, fears, and uncertainties that citizens, young and old, have about public life in America must be addressed with openness and integrity. We cannot avoid people's sense of alienation, distrust, and cynicism. We cannot substitute the ideal for what is real, but we can convince young citizens that the ideal is the best alternative to what is real. In this sense, we must abandon the assumption that young people are empty vessels to fill with facts and opinions. In our society, young people, and all citizens, are too knowledgeable and questioning to be told or easily convinced of the importance of civic commitment. We must begin therefore, with the assumption that there is resistance to and doubt about many of our civic values, and serious competition from more self serving popular philosophies.

Only experience and vigorous dialogue will assure commitment to citizen participation among citizens. The implications of this reality for the organization of our schools and the competencies of teachers is

considerable. As far as the schools are concerned, it means that we will need to provide many real and continued opportunities for young people to participate in the governance of their schools and communities to convince them that participation has meaningful outcomes. To tell them this will not be enough. They must experience it to believe it.

The implications of this approach to citizenship education for teachers is that they will need to tailor and limit, but not abandon, their role as purveyors of knowledge and advocates of values, to serve as facilitators of civic discovery. Whether or not this is possible on a widespread scale in America is not certain. If teachers are to perform this function, they will not only have to know more about community life, but they must participate more actively in it. Their wisdom as guides to civic learning must come out of their own experience. Their example and their commitment as citizens are the ultimate guarantor of the integrity of the curriculum.

PARTICIPATING WELL

If commitment to citizen participation is the ultimate goal of citizenship education, the question follows--What does it mean to participate well? Are there qualitative differences in citizen contributions and are there standards of excellence for citizen participation? What beyond civic commitment should we expect or encourage?

A functional answer to this question is that there are specific attributes that are particularly helpful in accomplishing the different purposes of citizen participation described earlier. For example, listening well may be significant in mutual self help; being objective helps one to be a good juror; and being willing to compromise may be important in citizen involvement activities.

A fully formed theory of citizenship education for citizen participation, which is far beyond the limited scope of this essay, should identify the most significant attributes that are influential in achieving the different ends of participation. Since there is limited empirical data concerning the relation between citizen attributes and participation outcomes, this is a very much needed area of inquiry for educational research and social science.

There is another way to address this question, within the scope of this discussion, and that is to consider if there are some common qualities of citizen behavior needed in all types of citizen participation to achieve the social and political values of our society. There are, I believe, four such qualities: reasonableness, fairness, tolerance, and respect. These qualities are necessary for social cohesion. Their absence (or opposite forms) undermine the possibility for any constructive social intercourse. Without them, distrust, cynicism, and violence inevitably follow.

Reasonableness is the foundation of security. It provides the condition for problem solving and decision making according to a common

commitment to fact and logic. It is the tool to overcome conflict. Tolerance guarantees liberty and mutuality. It is, as Ralph Barton Perry once suggested, "the necessary condition of genuine and lasting agreement" (Perry, 1944:431) Fairness preserves opportunity for all and protects us from the excesses of individualism. Respect for persons and law is a necessary condition for commitment. It reflects commitment to the values of individualism and society.

Any practice of citizen participation that violates these principles is destructive, and any practice that does not advance them is flawed. Therefore, at the foundation of any program of education for participation should be a passionate commitment to promote reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect as essential qualities of citizen participation. If there are any fundamental values that young people should learn through schools, it is these.

AN AGENDA FOR CIVIC INQUIRY

How do children and youth develop a commitment to citizen participation and learn to do it well? While alternative theories of learning suggest different patterns, strategies, and approaches to the learning process, all theories assume that the quality of experience and the development of affective, cognitive, and behavioral competencies are the key issues with which to be concerned. The critical questions for any philosophy of

citizenship education for citizen participation are: 1) What kind of affective, cognitive, and behavioral competencies create commitment to and skill in citizen participation? 2) What kind of experiences are most likely to develop these competencies? 3) Who should be responsible for developing these competencies? 4) What are the cultural and institutional barriers to developing competencies? and 5) What should and can be done to overcome cultural and institutional barriers?

What these questions make clear is that the essential issues of citizenship education are not merely pedagogical, but they are also sociological and political. While this essay can only outline and offer a few insights regarding these issues, its major purpose is to make clear their relevance and relationship to each other within the context of a social philosophy that is rooted in a strong commitment to citizen participation.

The question of relating these issues is critical for developing a philosophy of citizenship education for the 21st century. One of the shortcomings in educational theory and practice in America, especially as it relates to citizenship education, has been lock-step path of inquiry that proceeds from social ideals to educational goals to matters of pedagogical practice. The problem with this approach is not that it is logically or practically inappropriate, but rather the problem is that it does not consider existing and emerging cultural forces that do and will shape and limit the ideals, goals, and practices of education in the future. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the barriers and restraints

to education before and during any effort to reconstruct education. The challenge is to be realistic, prescient, and strategic from the outset and throughout. Otherwise we may create approaches to citizenship education that are idealistic and consistent, but irrelevant and hopelessly unrealistic.

BEYOND ALIENATION

The conditions of contemporary life have created a new situation for civic learning. In our time, and the future, citizens must cope with and adapt to dramatic and continuous changes in regard to information, communication, technology, and the structure of social institutions. Today, life is more complex, information voluminous, communication instantaneous, and the tools of production and problem solving rapidly changing. As a result, values and relationships (personal, professional, and civic) are less permanent, predictable, or clear in terms of what is and what might be.

The unanticipated consequences of post-industrial society are that people are more cautious about commitment. The time and energy that they have to commit to personal and civic life is reduced. They are often numbed by the range and complexity of problems in their community, nation, and world. They are confused by the amount of disinformation in advertising and public debate, and they feel helpless in the face of forces beyond their control. It is no surprise that apathy and consumerism

abound.

These alienating conditions are the barriers to healthy civic life today. If we expect citizens to overcome these barriers, we must empower them with the skills to withstand, overcome, and change the alienating conditions of our time. Such a commitment to empowerment must be reflected in the ideals, focus, and practices of schools. The core of such a commitment to empowerment must be a program of general education that nourishes attributes of self esteem, confidence, and personal efficacy. Without these basic qualities of personal health, it will not be possible to engender values of reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect.

But more than this is needed if students are to be empowered as persons. They must understand how change is and can be brought about. They must understand the nature of social, political, economic, and legal institutions at the local, state, national, and international level. They must understand how different beliefs result in different consequences. What they must understand most about these institutions is their significance and limitations and how they have been and can be changed as a result of leadership and citizen action.

Beyond understanding, students also need to develop practical skills for overcoming and changing the alienating conditions of society. They must learn from an early age how to select priorities and manage time. They must be able to distinguish propaganda from truth. They must learn

how to build and sustain satisfying relationships of different types and for different purposes. They must be able to analyze complex problems and make personal judgements as to desirable public policies. They need skill in managing conflict, achieving agreement with others, organizing and completing projects, working in groups, leading and following, giving and receiving help, and undertaking collective action to improve a situation.

INDOCTRINATION ,DIALOGUE, AND DISCOVERY

Is education for citizen empowerment possible in our schools, or, is Ivan Illich correct in claiming, "School is the advertising agency which makes you believe you need society as it is." (Illich,1972:113) Although there is something to be said for needing some features of society as they are, schools have done little to encourage or empower students to bring about change. The traditions of citizenship education, with its various approaches, observes Fred Newmann, "emphasize the importance of students learning to understand, describe, and explain reality, rather than exerting an impact upon it." (Newmann;1975:6)

Education for citizen empowerment is not in opposition to understanding, describing, and explaining social reality so long as such efforts lead to and enrich the capacity of students to act. To this end, intellectual, normative, and practical growth must be related and reinforcing. We need citizens who understand, believe, and practice the values of citizen participation and we need programs of citizenship education that balance all three needs.

The greatest danger to civic learning is that it will be rooted and routed in information and requirements that ill serve the intellectual as well as the normative and practical needs of students. Reporting and regurgitating information should not be confused with real learning or intellectual rigor. The tragedy of this approach is that if we try to tell students too much through the spoken and written word, they will devalue what is said and be denied opportunity to learn on the basis of their interest and experience. Talk and written words mean little if they are excessive and not selective. More is not better and a lot is not enough.

The key to unlock the capacity of youth for citizen participation is to encourage practices of democratic indoctrination, dialogue, and discovery. These active practices are valuable because they motivate and sustain student interest and generate learning that is memorable. They are also important because they are authentic practices of democratic life.

There is every reason to be suspicious of indoctrination. Yet, the difference between indoctrination and propaganda is important to understand. As Paul Nash has pointed out, "even learning to read involves indoctrination, and we cannot and should not --avoid it. Inevitable indoctrination is, of course different from propaganda: The former is carried out in order, eventually, to expand the area of the child's freedom, while the latter is aimed to reduce it" (Nash, 1966:157) Democratic indoctrination is, and should be no more than, efforts to advocate the

values of freedom and responsibility upon which our society is built. To fail to advocate these values to students is to do disservice to both. While study and experience can reinforce and expand a student's commitment to the values of liberty, equality, citizen participation, reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect, indoctrination should seek to provide the rationale and sentiment for future learning. In this sense, indoctrination is a matter of making clear how much we care about something. What is consistent about democratic indoctrination is that the values that are advocated encourage within young people the capacity and freedom to accept or reject them.

As indoctrination points the way in democratic learning, civic dialogue is a necessary condition for experiencing democratic learning with others. Civic dialogue is the process of listening, sharing, and building upon concerns, ideas, and ideals with others that are in the best interest of one's community (or state, nation, or world). The idea of civic dialogue is not unlike what Martin Buber once called genuine dialogue in which the individual, "feels himself approached for an answer" and which gives rise to a "strengthening sense of reciprocity" with others. (Buber, 1957:20) In this sense, civic dialogue is the experience of developing convictions and then connecting them with others to create a shared view of possibility and commitment. What is essential about civic dialogue is that it respects the value of feeling as well as reason, and considers the importance of each in making mutual action possible. In referring to civic dialogue as "democratic talk," Benjamin Barber outlines its dimensions: "Strong democratic talk, then always involves

listening as well as speaking, feeling as well as thinking, and acting as well as reflecting."(Barber,1984:1978)

Civic discovery results from civic dialogue. As Robert Reich has pointed out, civic discovery can be an occasion to debate the future of a community, to redefine problems and solutions, and to generate compromise, consensus, and commitment, (Reich,88:114f.) These are aspects of civic discovery that schools should help young people experience. In so doing, young people will also discover deeper truths about civic life. They will come to understand the organization of social and political institutions, ground rules and strategies for democratic change, the difficulties and possibilities of groups of people struggling together to decide upon a course of action, and the practical lessons of carrying out actions that improve community life.

THE PARTICIPATORY SCHOOL

Is it possible for schools to provide the kinds of experiences for young people to develop commitment to and skills for citizen participation? The answer to this question is "no" if schools are organized as most are today and "yes" if schools change in two significant ways.

Beyond a curriculum and pedagogy that promotes participation, the school itself needs to be an institution that is highly participatory in its organizational behavior. It should be an example of the values it promotes. To this end, schools of the 21st century must provide meaningful

and numerous opportunities for students to participate in the governance of the school, and the school must be more intimately connected to the people and social life of the community. How might it be possible to achieve such participatory schools?

First and foremost, the school will need to evaluate and redesign itself to maximize opportunities for young people to participate actively in the governance of the school itself. Practices that already exist, such as electing and giving responsibility to class officers and other groups should be continued and strengthened. Service organizations such as Key Clubs, Booster Clubs, Red Cross Councils, etc. should be increased. The greatest opportunity for learning, however, is in relation to those things that matter most to students and teachers: the curriculum and school rules. Students and teachers would benefit and learn much, for example, if students participated in the planning and evaluating of each course. Imagine how much students could learn if at the beginning of each school year and every course each teacher explained the proposed objectives and procedures and allowed students to revise and improve the teachers design and to volunteer to accept responsibility for helping the teachers to manage projects and make presentations. Imagine also, how much teachers and students would benefit if students were given opportunities to evaluate each course and make suggestions for improvement and if those suggestions were implemented.

Students could also learn much about participation if they participated in reviewing school policies. For example, schools could set aside one or

several days per year for all day workshops on how to improve aspects of school life. Student and teacher task forces could be created to make recommendations regarding such areas of student life as lunch programs, student safety, counseling, extracurricular activities, and student publications. Also, students could suggest criteria for selecting new teachers.

As the school evaluates and redesigns itself for greater participation of students in governance, the school should also create ways for greater participation between the school and community. The challenge to all of our schools is to become more a part of the community rather than apart from it. The goal of tomorrow's schools is to achieve a mutuality of interest and action between the school and all community institutions. The tradition of separation or insulation between schools, youth serving agencies, and other community organizations is a lesson from our past of how not to be. The school of the future needs to be a place, a program, and a process for partnerships to serve the interest of youth and the community.

Together, the school and other community institutions should identify the needs of the school and the community and then determine how each can assist the other. Such an assessment will identify real needs and the activities that students can undertake in the community. It will also identify organizations and individuals who can guide and supervise young people in community service, and it will create contacts and relationships that can help young people to learn outside of the school.

As schools open their doors and allow students to learn and serve the community, they must keep them open to attract the involvement of persons to assist the school. As we look to the future, it would be unfair to teachers and students to assume that teachers, through their individual effort, will be able to empower young people to participate well in community life. What we need for the 21st century is a new and expanded concept of teachers that will include more than full time employees of schools. The participatory school will be one in which the corp of teachers is ever expanding and changing to include individual students themselves and capable members of the community who have much to give and whose very presence in the schools demonstrate to students the reality and potential of participation and service.

The vision of the participatory school is one that will, undoubtedly, make many school committees, administrators, and teachers uneasy. It should, because it is a challenge to the "cult of efficiency" that has long dominated American education (Callahan, 1962). It is also a challenge to the excessive autonomy and isolation of teachers from the community. This is not to reject the importance of educational organization or the vital role of teachers. It is, rather, a strong belief in the capacity of the school and of teachers to really empower students by serving the values of citizen participation in policy and practice.

September, 1988

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